

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 052056
ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 COME-00 BIB-01 CU-04 CIAE-00
H-01 INR-10 IO-13 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01
PA-01 PM-05 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 DODE-00 ACDA-12
NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 /088 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/RPM:JKAUFMANN/JKORNBLUM
APPROVED BY EUR:JEGOODBY
EUR/RPM:SLEDOGAR

-----069052 010106Z /63

O 010039Z FAR 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
INFO USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE

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BELGRADE FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652:N/A

TAGS: CSCE, OCON

SUBJECT:BACKGROUND PAPER ON RESULTS OF BELGRADE MEETING

REF: BELGRADE 1589

DEPARTMENT APPRECIATES RECEIVING TEXT OF EC-9 THEMES FOR
USE IN CONCLUDING STATEMENTS AND WITH THE PRESS. THIS
MESSAGE TRANSMITS FIRST DRAFT OF SIMILAR STATEMENT
DEPARTMENT HAD ALREADY BEGUN DRAFTING FOR USE BOTH AS PRESS
GUIDANCE AND AS TALKING POINTS FOR POSTS IN THE FIELD.
E WOULD APPRECIATE ANY COMMENTS DELEGATION OR USNATO
MIGHT HAVE ON THE TEXT.

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PAGE 02 STATE 052056

BEGIN TEXT: THE PURPOSE OF THE BELGRADE MEETING WAS TO
REVIEW IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT DURING THE
PAST TWO YEARS. THE MEETING WAS NOT AN INTERNATIONAL
NEGOTIATION AS SUCH AND WAS NOT EXPECTED TO PRODUCE A NEW
AGREEMENT TO CHANGE OR ADD TO THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT.
SUCCESS OF THIS NEW VENTURE IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS

DEPENDENT AS MUCH ON THE CONDUCT OF THE MEETING AS ON THE RESULTS IT ACHIEVED.

A. DESPITE EASTERN INSISTENCE THAT EXAMINATION OF IMPLEMENTATION CONSTITUTED INTERFERENCE IN THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIRS, THE WEST AND THE NEUTRALS SUCCEEDED IN CONDUCTING A FULL REVIEW OF THE RECORD OF THE PAST TWO YEARS. A PRECEDENT WAS ESTABLISHED WHICH PROVED THE CREDIBILITY OF THE CSCE REVIEW PROCESS AND WHICH WILL CONTINUE IN THE PERIOD AFTER THE BELGRADE MEETING.

B. THE FINAL ACT REMAINS THE BASIC DOCUMENT OF THE CSCE AND THE WEST OPPOSED PROPOSALS WHICH WOULD LIMIT OR CHANGE ITS TEXT. WE DID, HOWEVER, BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO AGREE UPON A LIMITED NUMBER OF PRACTICAL NEW PROPOSALS WHICH COULD EXPAND POSSIBILITIES FOR IMPLEMENTATION. WE PUT FORWARD SEVERAL IDEAS OF THIS SORT, INCLUDING:

1. RECOGNITION THAT INSTITUTIONS, ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS HAVE THE RIGHT TO ASSIST GOVERNMENTS IN THE TASK OF FULL IMPLEMENTATION, INCLUDING THE RIGHT TO RAISE CASES OF NON-IMPLEMENTATION.

2. STRENGTHENING CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES (CBMS) INCLUDING PROVISIONS FOR NOTIFICATION OF SMALLER MANEUVERS AND NOTIFICATION OF MILITARY MOVEMENTS.
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PAGE 03 STATE 052056

3. SEVERAL PROPOSALS IN BASKET II TO IMPROVE OPPORTUNITIES FOR BUSINESS CONTACTS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

4. SEVERAL PROPOSALS TO FACILITATE CONTACTS BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS, INCLUDING REDUCTION OF CURRENCY EXCHANGE REQUIREMENTS; REDUCTION OF FEES FOR TRAVEL DOCUMENTS AND SPEEDING UP PROCESSING OF EXIT APPLICATION.

5. SEVERAL PROPOSALS TO FACILITATE THE FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION INCLUDING RULES COVERING EXPULSION OF JOURNALISTS; PROPOSAL ON MAKING MORE REFERENCE MATERIAL AVAILABLE TO JOURNALISTS AND PROPOSAL ON ACCESS TO ARCHIVES.

6. A PROPOSAL CALLING UPON ALL SIGNATORIES TO IMPROVE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS PRINCIPLE (PRINCIPLE VII).

C. THE NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED PARTICIPANTS ALSO PUT FORWARD A NUMBER OF USEFUL IDEAS, SEVERAL OF WHICH THE UNITED STATES WAS READY TO ACCEPT. HOWEVER, THE SOVIETS AND

THEIR ALLIES RESPONDED WITH GRANDIOSE PROPOSALS NOT AIMED

AT CONCRETE IMPLEMENTATION (NON-FIRST USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS; NON-EXPANSION OF ALLIANCES; BREZHNEV CONFERENCES) OR WITH IDEAS WHICH LIMITED THE PRACTICAL EFFECT OF IDEAS PUT FORWARD BY THE WEST. WHEN DELEGATES BEGAN TO DRAFT THE FINAL DOCUMENT, THE SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES REJECTED VIRTUALLY EVERY WESTERN AND NEUTRAL PROPOSAL AND REFUSED TO CONSIDER LANGUAGE WHICH PROVIDED AN HONEST DESCRIPTION OF EXPERIENCE WITH IMPLEMENTATION, THE RESULTS OF THE REVIEW PHASE OR OF THE NEED TO IMPROVE IMPLEMENTATION IN SUCH AREAS AS HUMAN RIGHTS.

D. THE US AND ITS ALLIES SUPPORTED SEVERAL EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE COMPROMISES BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN POSITIONS. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 04 STATE 052056

WE AGREED TO PARTICIPATE FULLY IN DRAFTING GROUPS AND INFORMAL CONTACT GROUPS, TO NO AVAIL. IN EACH CASE, THE SOVIETS REJECTED ANY LANGUAGE WHICH INCLUDED REFERENCE TO HUMAN RIGHTS OR TO THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION. THE FACT THAT A SUBSTANTIVE FINAL DOCUMENT WAS NOT ACHIEVED WAS NOT DUE TO LACK OF EFFORT OR READINESS TO COMPROMISE BY THE WESTERN SIDE.

E. SOME BELIEVE THE BELGRADE MEETING COULD HAVE BEEN MORE SATISFYING IF A COMPREHENSIVE POLITICAL DOCUMENT HAD BEEN AGREED. IDEALLY THIS IS TRUE. BUT ADDITIONAL COMMITMENTS ARE NOT AS IMPORTANT AS THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THOSE ALREADY UNDERTAKEN AT HELSINKI. MOREOVER THE CONSENT OF ALL 35 PARTICIPATING STATES WOULD HAVE BEEN NECESSARY. THE SOVIETS CLEARLY DID NOT WISH TO ACCEPT ANY LANGUAGE WHICH COULD HAVE IMPLIED AN ADDITIONAL COMMITMENT TO IMPLEMENTATION, OR FURTHER PUBLICIZED THEIR CLEARLY POOR IMPLEMENTATION RECORD. UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, THE ALTERNATIVE TO THE SHORT DOCUMENT WHICH WAS AGREED WOULD HAVE BEEN AN ANODYNE, UNBALANCED TEXT WHICH MASKED ITS LACK OF SUBSTANCE THROUGH USE OF HIGH-SOUNDING PHRASES, AND GAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE US AND THE WEST IN GENERAL WERE SATISFIED WITH SOVIET AND WARSAW POST COMPLIANCE. SUCH AN IMPRESSION WOULD BE UNTRUE, MISLEADING AND NOT IN OUR LONG-TERM INTERESTS TO PROMOTE TRUE COMPLIANCE WITH THE FINAL ACT. SUCH A RESULT WOULD NOT HAVE PROVIDED A CONCRETE IMPETUS TO DETENTE AND WOULD NOT HAVE ENHANCED THE PUBLIC CREDIBILITY OF THE CSCE PROCESS. NONETHELESS, THE COMMITMENTS IN THE FINAL ACT HAVE NOT CHANGED. THEY REMAIN THE BASIS FOR CONTINUATION OF THE

CSCE PROCESS. AS IT HAS NOW CONCLUDED, THE BELGRADE MEETING TAKES AN IMPORTANT STEP FORWARD BY:

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PAGE 05 STATE 052056

1. DEMONSTRATING THAT HUMANITARIAN ISSUES ARE A LEGITIMATE MATTER OF INQUIRY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF CSCE;

2. DEMONSTRATING THE UNITY OF NON-COMMUNIST PARTICIPANTS, NATO AND NEUTRAL, IN DEMANDING A FULL REVIEW OF HUMANITARIAN AS WELL AS OTHER ISSUES COVERED IN THE FINAL ACT. CLOSE COOPERATION AMONG NATO COUNTRIES DEVELOPED FURTHER. THEY CONTINUED TO MAINTAIN FULL SOLIDARITY ON ESSENTIAL ISSUES WITHOUT PRESENTING A MONOLITHIC FACE;

3. FOCUSSED ATTENTION ON THE NEED FOR FULLER IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL SECTIONS OF THE FINAL ACT. ATTENTION GENERATED BY THE PROSPECT OF A REVIEW AT BELGRADE HELPED STIMULATE IMPLEMENTATION DURING THE TWO YEARS PRECEDING THE MEETING. THE SAME PRESSURE WILL BUILD AS THE MADRID MEETING APPROACHES;

4. DEMONSTRATING THE COMMITMENT OF ALL SIGNATORIES TO CONTINUATION OF THE CSCE PROCESS, DESPITE THE CLEAR DIFFERENCES OVER INTERPRETATION OF THE TEXT.

5. THE US ALSO OBTAINED A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE CONCERNS OF OTHER COUNTRIES. SUCH UNDERSTANDING WILL PROVIDE AN IMPETUS FOR STRENGTHENED EAST-WEST TIES IN THE FUTURE.

F. THE UNITED STATES REMAINS COMMITTED TO SEEKING IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT THROUGH THE FRAMEWORK ESTABLISHED BY THE CSCE PROCESS. WE WILL PARTICIPATE FULLY IN CSCE ACTIVITIES AND LOOK FORWARD TO THE NEXT REVIEW CONFERENCE IN MADRID IN 1980. THE CSCE PROCESS IS DEVELOPING RAPIDLY TO PROVIDE A USEFUL FRAMEWORK IN WHICH TO ADDRESS A WIDE VARIETY OF QUESTIONS. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE CSCE IS A LONG-TERM PROCESS AND THAT THE PRACTICES OF MANY DECADES CANNOT BE CHANGED IN TWO YEARS. WE ARE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 06 STATE 052056

THEREFORE ALL THE MORE DETERMINED TO WORK PATIENTLY FOR AS LONG AS MAY BE REQUIRED TO ACHIEVE HELSINKI'S STATED GOALS. IN THE PERIOD LEADING UP TO THE MADRID MEETING, WE WILL WORK CLOSELY WITH OTHER SIGNATORIES IN BOTH EAST AND WEST TO SEEK MEANS OF IMPROVING IMPLEMENTATION AND WILL CONTINUE TO EXAMINE OUR OWN POLICIES TO MAKE SURE

THAT THEY ARE IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE GOALS AND AIMS OF THE CSCE.

6. CSCE INVOLVES 35 EUROPEAN STATES OPERATING ON PRINCIPLE OF CONSENSUS AND SOVEREIGN EQUALITY. THE OPPORTUNITY IT PROVIDES THE SMALLEST AND THE LARGEST TO INTERACT IN FURTHERANCE OF AGREED GOALS IS INVALUABLE. AT TIMES THERE IS A TEMPTATION TO RESOLVE CSCE ISSUES BILATERALLY OR BLOC TO BLOC. WE HAVE RESISTED THIS AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO. IN THAT REGARD, ALSO BELGRADE HAS BEEN A SUCCESS.

H. IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT TO REMEMBER THAT CSCE IS NOT THE ONLY ELEMENT OF DETENTE. THE IMPORTANT ISSUES OF ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT ARE DEALT WITH IN OTHER FORUMS. THE PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE OF CSCE IS IN THE RECOGNITION IT ACCORDS TO THE HUMAN DIMENSION OF DETENTE. THE BELGRADE MEETING HAS UNDERSCORED THIS POINT. VANCE

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

*** Current Classification *** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 01 mar 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE052056
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: JKAUFMANN/JKORNBLUM
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: n/a
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: D780092-1092
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197803123/aaaafiwg.tcl
Line Count: 245
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON MICROFILM, TEXT ON-LINE
Message ID: 2e665ebb-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 BELGRADE 1589
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 05 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: N/A
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3165204
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> mcm 970818
Subject: BACKGROUND PAPER ON RESULTS OF BELGRADE MEETING
TAGS: OCON, CSCE, OCON
To: BELGRADE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/2e665ebb-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014